



Sunland Tribune

Volume 22

Article 10

2018

"Deplorable Conditions": Tampa's Crisis of Law and Order in the Roaring Twenties

Michael H. Mundt

Follow this and additional works at: <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/sunlandtribune>

Recommended Citation

Mundt, Michael H. (2018) ""Deplorable Conditions": Tampa's Crisis of Law and Order in the Roaring Twenties," *Sunland Tribune*: Vol. 22 , Article 10.
Available at: <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/sunlandtribune/vol22/iss1/10>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by Scholar Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Sunland Tribune by an authorized editor of Scholar Commons. For more information, please contact scholarcommons@usf.edu.

"DEPLORABLE CONDITIONS": TAMPA'S CRISIS OF LAW AND ORDER IN THE ROARING TWENTIES

By Michael H. Mundt

In 1920, after forty years of continuous population growth, Tampa stood poised to meet the challenges of a new decade. But the change the city soon faced rocked the community's foundations. Tampa's 1920 population of 52,000 burgeoned to 119,000 in just five years.¹ While city leaders praised Tampa's boom, this dramatic demographic change brought considerable tensions to the city in the roaring twenties and earned the city an undesired reputation. Shortly after the close of the decade, sociologist Harrington Cooper Brearley noted that the stupendous growth of U.S. cities in the early 1920s was almost invariably accompanied by an increase in crime.² Tampa exemplified this trend. Property, violent, and moral crimes swelled substantially in the 1920s, confronting citizens with a crisis of law and order in their community.

In the first few years of the decade, property crime in Tampa evolved from an occasional annoyance to a chronic plague. From pickpocketing to large heists, Tampanians suffered as criminals capitalized on a booming city flush with cash. Automobile thieves were perhaps the most visible. Tampanians despised these crooks not only for the great number of vehicles they stole, but for their astonishing audacity. Of the stolen automobiles recovered, many were being driven openly by thieves on Tampa's streets. The car thieves' choice of vehicles also surprised many. In 1925, a deputy sheriff's car was stolen from Tampa's courthouse. Between 1923 and 1925, thieves stole six vehicles belonging to Tampa's federal prohibition agents. In 1924, a Tampa police

officer's personal vehicle was stripped by thieves, and a "nervy" thief stole a police car from police headquarters, prompting the *Tampa Tribune* to announce in bold headlines: "Even Cops' Possessions Not Safe."³

Other bold criminal acts mounted. Highway robbery had plagued automobile travellers in rural Hillsborough County prior to 1920. But in the early part of the decade, this crime drastically increased on the many miles of desolate county roads, usually leaving the victim stranded miles from Tampa. In 1923, some highwaymen moved their trade to urban areas, perpetrating a series of daring incidents in Tampa's better neighborhoods, which relieved residents of jewelry, cash, and cars. Despite two gunfights with Tampa Police Department detectives, these culprits were never apprehended.⁴

Car thefts, highway robberies, and other property crimes frequently struck the city in waves. Tampanians periodically faced "epidemics" of street muggings and citywide "raids" and "invasions" by home burglars. As news of a crime wave spread in 1924, the *Plant City Courier* nonchalantly noted, "Tampa is staging another crime wave." But the frequency of property crime heightened Tampanians' sensitivities, and residents were shocked by especially violent incidents, such as one in 1924 when thugs broke into a middle-class Tampa house, drugged its two residents, ransacked the home, and fled with money and jewelry, leaving the couple unconscious for over twenty-four hours.

While such spectacular incidents were rare, Tampa's media ensured that these stories received great attention. But the local papers also recorded the prevalence of less spectacular burglaries; the *Tribune* lamented: "A number of homes are entered practically every night. . . . And the burglars get away with it. . . . Tampa seems to be a free field for this variety of criminal." A citizen whose home had been robbed seven times concurred, noting, "We have no police protection. . . . A man hardly feels safe to go to sleep at night."⁵

Despite the prevalence of property crimes, the frequency of homicide in Tampa proved more distressing. Between 1920 and 1925, the number of murders in Tampa increased by 420 percent. Even adjusted for Tampa's

phenomenal population growth, this figure still indicates more than a doubling of Tampa's homicide rate. By 1925, the city's murder rate had swelled to 44.26 occurrences per 100,000 residents, a figure several times greater than the nation's urban rate. (Tampa's 1992 murder rate was 16.8 occurrences per 100,000 residents)⁶ Tampans' proclivity for murder plagued the city with a high incidence of mysterious disappearances, suspicious suicides, and unsolved murders, a fact which did not escape the attention of other Florida communities. In 1924, the *Arcadia News* sarcastically remarked of Tampa: "If the murder orgy . . . keeps up[,] the next census will show a decrease in the population." That same year, the *Plant City Courier* noted that scarcely a week passed without



Hillsborough County's courthouse around 1926. Constructed in the 1890s, the courthouse's Mediterranean Revival architecture reflected that of the Tampa Bay Hotel. City leaders hoped this grand structure also would become a recognizable landmark for the growing city. However, by the 1920s the courthouse symbolized serious shortcomings in the area's judicial system.

— Courtesy Tampa-Hillsborough County Public Library System

mention of a new murder in Tampa, an observation which more accurately depicts the city's exploding homicide rate.⁷

While property crime threatened Tampan's possessions and violence shattered their sense of personal security, crimes which tore the community's moral fiber also increased in the 1920s. By 1923, narcotics had become a serious concern among Tampa citizens. The *Tampa Times* published an expose revealing what most Tampan's already knew: the city was plagued by morphine and cocaine dealers and addicts, or "dope fiends." Tampa police estimated that at least five hundred addicts wandered the streets of Tampa: a "dope army" which the police blamed for half of all thefts within the city. The substantial costs of arresting and sustaining these addicts in jail fell upon the city; the state of Florida was unwilling to sponsor rehabilitation programs sufficient for these addicts. In fact, the state hospital had directed a reform-minded Hillsborough County judge to stop sending addicts for treatment, as Tampa's problem was overwhelming that facility. The drain on city coffers and city manpower prompted this judge to warn: "Something is going to have to be done and done quickly."⁸

Federal narcotics agents based in Tampa added to the alarm. In 1923, they revealed to the press that drug prices were falling as Tampa's dealers waged a "dope war," flooding the city's streets with greater amounts of narcotics to maintain profits. These agents observed that Tampa was rapidly becoming a "notorious" drug selling and smuggling center, drawing addicts from across the south. Residents feared the agents' admonitions that Tampa threatened to surpass New Orleans—the traditional "mecca for the dope fraternity"—in the narcotics trade. Federal agents continued to feed the fire by warning: "The dope fiends

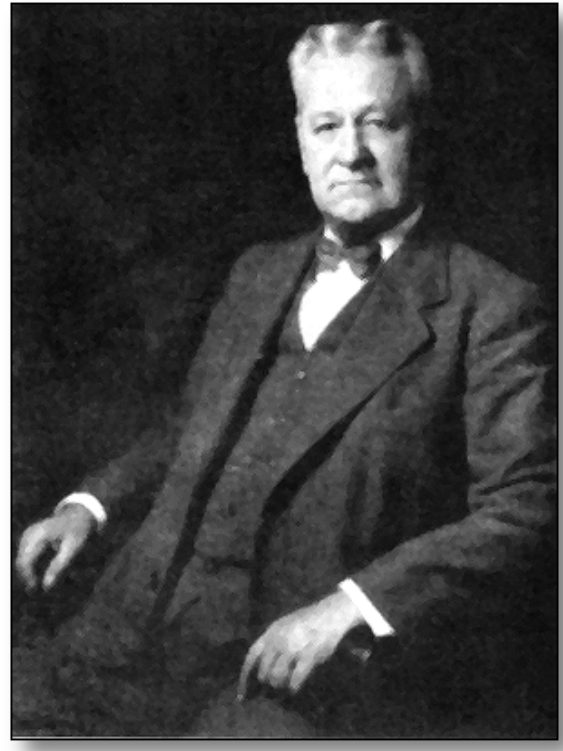
are flocking this way." The importation and use of narcotics "remained a serious problem" in Tampa throughout the 1920s.⁹

Less physically destructive—but no less offensive to many Tampan's—was gambling. Tampa and Hillsborough County were riddled with gambling houses where patrons allegedly fell into financial and moral ruin. In 1924, Tampa's police chief claimed there were over 1,000 slot machines within the city limits, which constituted "a menace to the health and morals of school children[,] who frequently lost all their lunch money" playing the slots. Many citizens similarly decried both the widespread bolita numbers game and the numerous small underground casinos in Ybor City, and the *Times* lamented the prosperity of the city's "gambling 'industry.'" Many proprietors of gambling houses were repeatedly implicated in other crimes including larceny, fraud, and prohibition violation, thus adding to the widespread opinion of the low character of these purveyors. Additionally, many Tampa citizens linked gambling to governmental corruption. Local law enforcement officers—from patrolmen and deputies to the chief of police and the county sheriff—repeatedly were accused of accepting payoffs and protection money from gambling dens. In the 1923 mayoral race, the media and the opposition candidates condemned the incumbent administration for tolerating the city's deplorable gambling conditions, allegations which implied a vested interest by the mayor in the continued existence of gambling establishments.¹⁰

As in many other cities, the most widespread moral offense in 1920s Tampa was the distribution and manufacture of alcoholic beverages in violation of federal and state prohibition laws. The buying, selling, smuggling, distilling, and brewing of alcoholic beverages were all highly visible

in Tampa and surrounding counties, as many residents "made a mockery of prohibition laws." Boats laden with liquor from Cuba and the British West Indies entered Tampa Bay and the many secluded inlets and coves along Florida's west coast. Hundreds of moonshine stills dotted the swampy backwoods areas around Tampa, and many citizens of rural Pasco and Hernando Counties made a comfortable living by quenching Tampans' thirst. But large stills also operated in the heart of the city under the nose of enforcement officials, and speakeasies and "soft-drink stands" lined the streets of Ybor City, West Tampa, and many parts of downtown, including Franklin Street. In 1923, one resident determined that 142 places within the city limits sold alcohol "more or less openly," and a survey of the local media correspondingly suggests that prohibition-era Tampa indeed was swimming in liquor.¹¹ The Tampa Police Department, the Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office, and federal prohibition agents made frequent arrests, but to little avail as low court fines and short jail sentences allowed repeat liquor offenders to ply their profitable trade with only minor interruptions. Many of the violators' names habitually appeared on county and city court dockets, which the local newspapers printed so all Tampans could observe the ineffectiveness of the community's prohibition efforts; their city became known as one of the wettest in America.¹²

In this atmosphere of criminality, Tampa citizens turned to law enforcement officials to subdue vice and violence. But the city's rapid population increase had left Tampa's law enforcers woefully unprepared for the law and order crisis of the 1920s. For much of the decade, the city's police force remained understaffed and underfunded. As late as 1924, Tampa's chief of police lamented that only nine policemen patrolled



Alonzo C. Clewis, prominent Tampa businessman

— Courtesy Hampton Dunn Collection

the entire city on any given shift.¹³ Not until well into the decade did the community sufficiently increase expenditures to provide for law enforcement commensurate with the increase in Tampa's population.

This shortcoming allowed the criminality and violence raging in Tampa to engulf the city's law officers. The theft of police vehicles proved a repeated embarrassment, and more than once, police headquarters was burglarized by those seeking to destroy evidence in prohibition cases. Law officers frequently faced assaults and gunfire when making arrests. One Tampa officer was killed while arresting a disorderly lush; the city's chief of detectives received a severe gunshot wound after a shootout with bank robbers; another officer was shot during a cigarworkers' strike; a city detective survived a drive-by shooting which the

HIS WEAPON



In the 1920s, many Americans began to question the efficacy of the nation's criminal justice system. This cartoon reflects the commonly expressed concerns of many Tampan.

— *Tampa Times*, April 17, 1925

media labeled an assassination attempt. Within the period of one year, an unfortunate city officer fell victim to a mob, was stabbed, knocked unconscious in a pool hall brawl, and survived a blast from a shotgun. Clearly, Tampa's law officers found themselves in the tumultuous center of the city's ongoing crisis.¹⁴

The illicit liquor trade in particular sparked a high level of violence around Tampa. In 1922, two federal prohibition agents for Tampa's district were killed by Pasco County moonshiners who laid in ambush on a lonely road. The incident shocked many, and two thousand Tampan attended the funeral of one of the slain agents, who had family in the city. The state director of the

Anti-Saloon League declared that the two agents were the first killed in Florida's ongoing "whisky rebellion." Three years later, a moonshiner wounded another Tampa prohibition officer in a shootout near neighboring Plant City.¹⁵

This "whisky rebellion" also flared on the streets of Tampa as liquor purveyors assaulted police officers attempting to apprehend suspects. In one incident, a Tampa undercover officer monitoring a business for liquor violations was attacked with a hail of fists and gunfire by the proprietors and employees of the establishment. Similarly, when a Hillsborough County deputy raided an Ybor City cafe, Sunday-morning drinkers threw wine bottles at him, and the establishment's proprietors assaulted him. In another case, a prohibition violator literally held up a police officer at gun point, demanding that the officer return the liquor he had just seized from that proprietor's establishment. When four officers returned to arrest this assailant, he held a gun to the officers while his wife destroyed evidence. Two years later, an African-American undercover officer who had been "instrumental" in convicting several liquor dealers and gambling operators was shot five times and his body dumped in the Hillsborough River. Gun battles repeatedly broke out between bootleggers and police officers; these skirmishes wounded several Tampa officers, and a few lost their lives in the line of duty as Tampa's liquor war raged. One area resident recalled the fate of those who challenged the bootleggers' trade: "My God they would do away with you."¹⁶ Such violence demonstrated the liquor dealers' resolve, but also offended many law-abiding Tampan.

Amid Tampa's thievery, wandering drug addicts, seedy gambling dens, freeflowing

liquor, and rampant violence, three well-known personalities—a liquor dealer, a criminal attorney, and the unlikely mastermind of a massive heist—concisely illustrate the magnitude of the law and order crisis Tampans faced.

Cafe owner Leo L. Isaac serves as a prototype of the city's liquor distributors. In his mid-forties and a father of three, Isaac worked as a clerk after his arrival in Tampa around 1919. Two years later, he opened the Nebraska Cafe on the corner of Nebraska and Sixth Avenues. In 1922, he changed the cafe's name to the more suggestive Isaac's Nest, an establishment that quickly gained great notoriety in Tampa. From his place of business, Isaac sold alcohol and ran a liquor distribution service. So profitable was Isaac's establishment that in just two years of operating, the former clerk was wealthy enough to own a home near the bay in posh Hyde Park. Considered an impure dive by many Tampans, Isaac's Nest was frequented not only by drinkers, but by some of the city's least reputable and most infamous citizens. In 1922, a teenage girl – loaded with illicit liquor – committed suicide in one of the back rooms of Isaac's Nest after sharing the company of a notorious Tampa criminal and suspected underworld figure. The *Times* published the girl's dramatic last words for an outraged citizenry: "I did it because I had been drinking."¹⁷ This well-publicized incident confirmed many Tampans' suspicions of the fundamental immorality of liquor joints and the danger such operations posed to the moral health of the community.

Leo Isaac was repeatedly arrested and tried for liquor offenses, although he generally escaped punishment through the shrewd actions of his attorney. Thus, Isaac – like most liquor dealers – found it only mildly dangerous and highly lucrative to disregard

community laws. Continued success flaunting the law increased Isaac's impudence. In 1923, he rudely introduced two investigating police officers to his bodyguards and threatened to notify his attorney of this violation of his rights. Isaac's hiring of gunmen lent him the appearance of a small-time gangster.¹⁸ The brazenness of Isaac typified the exploits of many local liquor dealers and illustrated the city's inability to curb extensive prohibition violation.

But Isaac's illegality was facilitated by defense attorney Pat Whitaker. Whitaker had built a successful Tampa law practice largely by defending liquor and narcotics violators. Whitaker repeatedly had charges against Leo Isaac dropped, had his convictions overturned, and had his fines and jail sentences reduced. Perhaps no attorney in Tampa understood the law's intricacies so well as Pat Whitaker. Keen and flamboyant, Whitaker's histrionics irritated prosecutors; his challenges to judicial objectivity and his motions for change of venue annoyed municipal judges, and his courtroom machinations earned him the audible wrath of many Tampa citizens. But these legal maneuvers secured dismissals and overturned convictions for his often unsavory clients. Whitaker's actions on his clients' behalf became notorious. In 1923, when the county sheriff's actions threatened Whitaker's legal tactics, he attempted to have the sheriff removed from office for neglect of duty. Two years later, Whitaker secured a dismissal of charges against a client by successfully challenging a city-wide annexation election, thus removing his client from both the city limits and the jurisdiction of the city police.¹⁹

In the 1920s, the "noble experiment" flooded America's courts with prohibition

violators, although the trade in illicit liquor was not suppressed. Many Americans held maneuvering attorneys responsible for the courts' ineffectiveness and derth of convictions. In Tampa, Pat Whitaker symbolized the shrewd attorney who manipulated the law and abused the judicial system for the benefit of the guilty. Whitaker's publicized audacity reaffirmed many Tampans' notion that the courts were becoming favorable to the obviously guilty, whose behavior threatened community law and order.

But a single incident may have done more than the combination of the city's skyrocketing crime rate and the actions of men like Leo Isaac and Pat Whitaker to undermine Tampans' confidence in the justice system and to make citizens realize the extent of the law and order crisis facing their community.

In April 1924, two armed men robbed Alonzo C. Clewis, president of the Bank of West Tampa, of \$24,000 as he made a transfer to the Exchange National Bank. When the Tampa Police prematurely suspended their investigation, Peter O. Knight, attorney for the Exchange National Bank, hired private detectives to investigate the massive heist. Four months later, these detectives discovered the principal of the crime and supplied his name to the Tampa Police. Upon his arrest, the principal confessed and implicated four others as part of a conspiracy to rob Clewis. One of the implicated was a local private detective and former Hillsborough County deputy sheriff. Another was the former fingerprint specialist for the Tampa Police Department. Yet another was a former police undercover man. Investigators soon revealed an unlikely mastermind of the operation: Edith M. Conway. A widow, Conway had lived in Tampa only two years. She had served as a

Tampa police officer and secretary to the chief of police, maintaining ties to many of the area's former and contemporary law enforcers. But a family connection proved more beneficial to her criminal plot. Her son was an accountant for the Exchange National Bank, and he had passed the information to his mother which resulted in Clewis' robbery. Conway confessed after police revealed the strength of their evidence against her, which included the testimony of the two holdup men and the discovery of part of the loot underneath her house. But she soon hired an attorney, recanted her confession, and asserted her innocence. In August, a special grand jury was impanelled to investigate the crime. They indicted Conway and five others for varying offenses, and revealed to the press an "astounding" conspiracy; included in the indictment was former Chief of Police Frank M. Williams. The involvement of the chief (a married family man) in the crime arose from an apparent romantic tryst with Edith Conway.²⁰

The court proceedings dragged on for two months. Two of the six defendants pleaded guilty, two were convicted; all four were sentenced to prison. However, the much publicized trial of Conway resulted in an acquittal despite her previous confession and strong evidence against her. As Conway's verdict was announced, Williams (whose trial had been severed from that of Conway) pushed his way through the overcrowded courtroom to embrace and kiss Conway, lending credence to the increasingly common rumors regarding Williams and Conway's relationship. Four days later, the assistant county prosecutor asked the presiding judge to terminate the case against Williams, because the evidence against him and Conway was closely interwoven and the prosecutor's office did "not care to enter into a further farcical procedure." However, the

prosecutor's office – realizing the political ramifications of the case – was not ready to concede defeat on the Conway matter. Within one hour of this action, the prosecutor charged Conway with receiving stolen property and issued a warrant for her arrest, in an attempt to thwart Conway's plans to leave the city. But Conway was quickly released as a judge granted her attorney's plea of prior jeopardy. Adding insult to injury, less than a week after this prior jeopardy plea, Conway attempted to retrieve her share of the Clewis loot (only a small portion of the funds from the robbery was ever recovered). She turned to the circuit court seeking an order mandating that Hillsborough County return to her the recovered money which it still held as evidence.²¹

The brazenness of the Clewis crime, the involvement of several former members of the area's law enforcement agencies, and the lack of punishment for the principal player angered crime-weary Tampans. One resident proclaimed that "laws, courts and juries mean absolutely nothing to the people of Hillsborough county." Another citizen heaped "discredit and disgrace" on the jurors and suggested that the defense attorneys were accessories "after the fact." The *Times* lamented the "court house fiasco," and the *Tribune* similarly proclaimed: "Justice is only a name in this county – a discredited impotent thing, which, with the aid of influential friends, smoothtongued lawyers, and a jury deaf to law and evidence, any criminal may laugh and scorn!" The editor continued: "A person who pleads guilty to a crime even though caught red-handed in its commission, when he has a chance to put his case before a Hillsborough County jury, is a fool." The *Tribune* also suggested that the money recovered from the Clewis robbery – part of which was now claimed by Edith

Conway – should be used to fund "a home for feeble-minded jurors."²²

For many Tampans, this entire six-month-long incident symbolized the magnitude of the problems confronting their community. The Clewis case heightened residents' frustrations with the excessive crime in their community, the lack of justice for the guilty, the grotesque ineptitude of juries, the motives of defense attorneys, and the questionable ability and integrity of Tampa's law enforcers, who so readily engaged in criminal activity.

The Clewis case also brought Tampa unwanted publicity from across the state. The *Sarasota Times* noted that "in Tampa one can confess to handling and receiving \$24,000 of stolen money taken at a point of a gun, and be acquitted with acclaim." The *Palmetto News* observed: "The worse a criminal is in that county [Hillsborough], the more liable he is to be turned loose when caught." The *Plant City Courier* sarcastically remarked that Edith Conway must have been "tried by a jury of her peers." The *Bradentown Herald* refused to be surprised by the Conway decision, insisting that such verdicts were typical in Hillsborough County. A Manatee resident recommended community ostracism of the jurors, while a Clearwater citizen suggested the abolishment of the jury system in favor of a judge; if this judge's verdict was fallible, the citizen warned, vigilantes should dutifully mete out justice.²³

The concerns Florida residents expressed regarding Tampa's Clewis case reflect the significance of the law and order issue throughout the state. The *Plant City Courier* asserted that criminality had assumed "formidable proportions" and claimed Florida was "not protecting the lives of its citizens." The *Bradentown Herald* wrote of

a "wave of crime" in the state. The *Florida Advocate* noted: "It Is a self-evident fact that something is wrong in dealing with law breakers, and that our courts are becoming a game of chance, rather than courts of justice," a situation which "encouraged crime." The *Plant City Courier* opined that never in Florida "has crime been more prevalent, or life and property less secure, than it is today. . . . [Crime threatens to] penetrate every part of our national life, poisoning . . . our whole system of civilization." Governor Cary A. Hardee condemned the ease with which men "commit criminal acts and escape consequences of their criminality. . . . The enforcement of law, of all the laws, is the great question before us at this time."²⁴

Tampa's crisis of law and order served as a poignant reminder to Floridians of the extent of the judicial system's decay in their state. When writing of Tampa, the state's newspapers repeatedly referred to "crime waves" and "murder orgies." In 1924, the *Plant City Courier* noted that one need spend but a day in Tampa to realize the severity of the problem. Several months later, the *Palmetto News* sarcastically observed: "Hillsborough County is planning to build a bigger and better court house. What for? Why not sell the one you've got and quit business?"²⁵ Clearly, Tampa had become notorious in Florida for its lawlessness and "court house fiascos."

Tampa's notoriety put the city's reputation as a business and tourist mecca in jeopardy, but for those who had to live and work in Tampa, the conditions had greater relevance. In 1923, the *Tampa Times* admonished that it was "high time that decent, fair-minded people of Tampa give attention to these conditions."²⁶ But this editorial lagged behind public sentiment. By the early 1920s, the magnitude of Tampa's problems had

fueled a growing lack of faith in traditional judicial processes and generated political and social turmoil as citizens blamed community leaders for the deterioration of Tampa's law, order, and morality. Throughout the roaring twenties, Tampanians would explore a variety of social and political options – both legal and extralegal – to address this crisis of law and order.

¹ *Tampa Tribune*, July 23, 1921, 4a; *Tampa Times*, December 31, 1923, 2b; January 16, 1925, 13b; April 27, 1925, 4a. Hereafter cited as *Tribune* and *Times*.

² Harrington Cooper Brearley, *Homicide in the United States* (Montclair, NJ, 1969), 149.

³ *Times*, May 25, 1925, 9a; November 23, 1925, 19b; November 24, 1924, 12a; *Tribune*, May 13, 1924, 9b. Quote from *Tribune*.

⁴ *Times*, June 26, 1923, 1a.

⁵ *Tribune*, May 13, 1924, 9b; February 19, 1924, 4A; reprinted in *Tribune*, August 28, 1924, 6a; *Times*, September 22, 1922. Quotes from *Tribune* reprint, *Tribune*, February 19, and *Times*.

⁶ *Times*, May 24, 1923, 1a, 8a; Brearley, 19, 149-150. 1992 homicide rate is courtesy of the Tampa Police Department Records and Statistics Bureau.

⁷ Reprinted in *Tribune*, April 22, 1924, 6a; September 20, 1924, 8a.

⁸ *Times*, October 31, 1923, 1a, 14a; August 27, 1923, 1a. Quotes from August 27 and October 31, 1a.

⁹ *Ibid.*, August 24, 1923, 1a; August 25, 1923, 1a; Frank Alduino, "The Smugglers' Blues: Drug and Allen Traffic in Tampa During the 1920's," *Tampa Bay History* 13 (Fall/Winter 1991), 27-39. Quotes from *Times*, August 24 and Alduino, 37.

¹⁰ *Tribune*, May 6, 1924, 1b; October 5, 1924, 1a, 6a; *Times* July 31, 1922, 1a; September 11, 1923, 4a.

¹¹ Frank Alduino, "Prohibition in Tampa," *Tampa Bay History* 9 (Spring/Summer 1987), 20; Richard Cofer, "Bootleggers in the Backwoods: Prohibition and the Depression in Hernando County," *Tampa Bay History* 1 (Spring/Summer 1979), 17-23; *Times*, February 14, 1923, 1a; October 1, 1923, 16a.

¹² Alduino, "Prohibition," 20.

¹³ *Tribune*, April 24, 1924, 10a.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, June 27, 1924, 4b; June 14, 1924, 5a; June 13, 1924, 1b, 12b; *Times*, June 26, 1925, 1a; July 2, 1925, 2a; March 25, 1924, 3a; June 27, 1925, 1a, 2a; June 26, 1924, 1a; May 4, 1926, 3c.

¹⁵ *Times*, October 5, 1922, 1a; October 6, 1922, 20a; October 7, 1922, 1a; December 18, 1922, 9a; March 27, 1925, 1a. Quote from October 7.

¹⁶ *Tribune*, March 7, 1924, 3b; March 24, 1924, 14a; March 25, 1924, 3a, 10a; March 26, 1926, 2a; *Times*, August 17, 1925, 12b; Cofer, 22. Quote from Cofer.

¹⁷ *Tampa City Directory*, 1920-22; Hillsborough County, *Florida Cemeteries, 1840-1985* (Tampa, 1990), 6: 297; *Times*, December 11, 1923, 10a; April 6, 1922, 1a; *Tribune*, January 16, 1924, 2a.

¹⁸ *Tribune*, October 21, 1923, 14e; *Times*, December 11, 1923, 10a; January 12, 1923, 1a.

¹⁹ *Times*, August 26, 1922, 1a, 8a; January 30, 1923, 1a; May 24, 1923, 8a; January 13, 1925, 2a; January 15, 1925, 12a; May 19, 1923, 8a; *Tribune*, October 22, 1926, 13.

²⁰ *Tribune*, July 20, 1924, 7e; July 24, 1924, 1b; July 25, 1924, 1b; July 31, 1924, 10a; August 12, 1924, 2a; August 13, 1924, 10a; *Tampa City Directory*, 1922, 1924.

²¹ *Tribune*, August 28, 1924, 10a; August 31, 1924, 13e; September 3, 1924, 11a; September 9, 1924, 1b; September 11, 1924, 1b; October 1, 1924, 1b; October 4, 1924, 15a; October 7, 1924, 1b. Quote from September 3.

²² *Tribune*, September 1, 1924, 6a; September 3, 1924, 6a; September 5, 1924, 6a; September 6, 1924, 6a; *Times*, March 18, 1925, 4a.

²³ Reprinted in *Tribune*, September 14, 1924, 8e; September 4, 1924, 6a; September 6, 1924, 6a; September 10, 1924, 6a; *Tribune*, September 6, 1924, 6a; September 3, 1924, 6a.

²⁴ Reprinted in *Tribune*, August 30, 1924, 6a; reprinted in *Times*, October 24, 1923, 4a; March 5, 1923, 4a; reprinted in *Tribune*, September 20, 1924, 8a; *Tribune*, November 30, 1923, 9a.

²⁵ Reprinted in *Tribune*, September 20, 1924, 8a; September 24, 1924, 4a.

²⁶ *Times*, September 11, 1923, 4a.